

CHAPTER X

LITERACY AND LITERATURE

²¹²
[162] The latest Mexican census, that of 1921, enumerated 782 adult males living in the *municipio* of Tepoztlán; of these, it was reported, 438 could read and write. Even when allowance is made for the readiness of the census-taker to report an individual as literate on the slightest evidence, it remains probable that about half of the adults of Tepoztlán can to some degree read and write Spanish. Spanish is the only language of the schools; therefore the proportion that can write Nahuatl is certainly much smaller.

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[871] Nevertheless, judged by the standard of the modern city, these people are illiterate. And because they are so judged, and because they tend so to judge themselves, they are an illiterate folk, not a preliterate primitive people. Their pre-Columbian ancestors were a preliterate people, for the writing of the Aztecs was no doubt an esoteric art, confined to the priestly class.

[121] The first secular school was established in Tepoztlán in the middle of the nineteenth century, but at various periods during the three centuries that preceded that time there were schools of the church. Today two schools are maintained in Tepoztlán, one by the state of Morelos and the other by the federal government.

● 872

* A total of 3,836 individuals.

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The sessions of both are somewhat irregular, but the former gives instruction to a score or more of girls, the latter to several score of children of both sexes. There is also a small federal school in Santiago and another in San Andres. Not a great deal is taught besides reading, writing, and simple arithmetic, and a little Mexican history. Quite a number of *los correctos* [565] have had superior schooling in Cuernavaca or Mexico City.

The mere statistical statement of the extent of literacy, however, is inadequate to describe the advancement of this people. The degree of intellectual development is better told in terms of how much and of what is read rather than by counting those who can read. A truer picture would appear from a study of the uses to which the knowledge of reading and writing is put. Such a study has not been made. This preliminary consideration suggests that even including the minority of the city-wise, the people of Tepoztlán make very little use of the stored experiences of other groups. The best-educated man in Tepoztlán has read much when living in the city, but in Tepoztlán he owns hardly more than half-a-dozen volumes. It is, one would venture, a very unusual occurrence if a single individual in Tepoztlán, except a schoolboy studying his lesson, reads from any sort of book.¹ Magazines rarely appear in Tepoztlán, and in this community of four thousand people no newspaper [204]

¹ The writer himself introduced to Tepoztlán the only technical volume—a handbook of the mason's craft—which he saw in Tepoztlán.

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159 ed toward any other interests than those offered by the ordinary
 369 life of the town. At the age of nineteen he was sent by his father
 565 to school in Cuernavaca. A great many of *los correctos* have
 [872] studied in Cuernavaca. Because of the tourists and its position
 on the railroad and the fact that it is the seat of the state government,
 Cuernavaca is far more sophisticated than Tepoztlán.
 R. G. studied in the secondary school there. Evidently his interest
 in study was aroused, for he then went on to a normal school in Mexico City.

In Mexico City one of the ruling passions of his life—his interest in the Nahuatl language—had its origin through a friendship he picked up with a North American priest and amateur archaeologist. To R. G., Nahuatl had been with Spanish equally the language of intimate home life. But through the archaeologist he received a Nahuatl grammar and from him he first made acquaintance with the literature describing the past glories of his Aztec forbears. The Nahuatl language became for him a symbol of gradually developing race consciousness. He entered into discussions with the archaeologist on the ancient forms of the language and studied it with the idea of bringing back to use the sacred pure original forms.

He had made only brief stays in Tepoztlán when the revolution broke out, and was of course in Mexico City all during that period. He took an active share in organizing the "Colonia Tepozteco," and entered enthusiastically into the plans for the restoration and reform of Tepoztlán. All during this time he was employed at various clerical occupations. During the early years of the revolution he met and married a *mestiza* woman, part Tarascan Indian, part Spanish. Although he is apparently proud of his pure Indian blood, he married a woman lighter skinned and closer to the Spanish tradition than himself. At about the same time he became acquainted with the authorities in charge of anthropological work for the government, and was employed in a minor capacity in connection with the work of that department. When he was asked to take part in an ancient Aztec pageant which the department had arranged as a part of the deliberate revival of the ancient cultural traditions of the folk, R. G. refused indignantly to make himself ridiculous by dressing up in

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the U.S.A. to the villagers. In addition, one Tepoztecan fought in the Mexican squadron which went to the Philippines and he, too, spoke of his experiences.

Tepoztecan have not escaped the repercussions of international events in recent years. World War II led to conscription, toward which Tepoztecan reacted negatively. During the first few months of our field work in the village in 1943-44 an incident occurred which illustrates the local attitude. The son of the president of the municipio had been recruited and was on his way to Cuernavaca to report for duty. His bus was stopped and the boy was "kidnapped" by several men. It was common gossip that this act was planned by the boy's father who, as a result of it, was imprisoned in Cuernavaca for some time. Federal troops were sent into the village and there was much tension among the people. However, the affair blew over, and the villagers resigned themselves to conscription and military training for their sons.

Another way in which current international events influence the village is in the intensified campaign of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the Catholic world. Acción Católica has almost doubled its membership in Tepoztlán since 1943 as a result of the increased activity of the church. The sermons of the priest sometimes include warnings against the threat of Communism, a theme which was also heard in the local church immediately after the Mexican Revolution and in the twenties. Other than this, most Tepoztecan have no information about international trends or problems; they are ignorant of the United Nations, the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, and even of national loans.

The geographical horizon of most Tepoztecan becomes a little more concrete when they think of Mexico. While the shape of the country and its boundaries may still be hazy, they know that Mexico is their country, that it has coasts on the east and west, that the Isthmus of Tehuantepec is very hot, while the north is cold. They also know that the people of Monterrey are "stingy" and that the Yucatecan have "square-heads." They have heard of Tampico and Vera Cruz as important ports, and that Mexico produces oil and minerals. They also know some of the names of the states of Mexico, and many have had occasion to deal personally not only with people from Mexico City and with other Morelenes, but also with Mexicans from different states. During the Revolution they came into contact with soldiers from diverse parts of the country; the Norteños del Coahuila camped in Tepoztlán for months, and the people still speak of their strange customs.

Of course, the geographic horizons of the younger generation which has had some years of schooling are quite different. The children study a little world geography and know the continents and major countries of the world. Most have studied the map of México, and some of the youth are beginning to demonstrate a real nationalism.

The average Tepoztecan's notion of the geography of the state of Morelos is much more precise than his notion of the geography of the nation. Many Tepoztecan have traveled over large portions of the state, as well as neighboring regions, during the years of the Revolution. Others have taken trips for economic

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484 purposes, religious pilgrimages, or political reasons. Tepoztecs know what
823 towns are to the north of the state of Morelos and have a pretty good notion of the
[647] products produced in the various parts of the state. Their work on haciendas to
the south has also given them some familiarity with this part of the state. Some
Tepoztecs are related by ties of marriage and *compadrazgo* with families in
other parts of the state of Morelos.

619 There is an increasing identification of Tepoztecs with the Mexican nation and
648 with the state of Morelos. The factors which relate the villagers to these larger
entities are cultural, administrative, religious, political, and economic.

CULTURAL FACTORS

619 Perhaps the most important and decisive of the several cultural factors—the
872 school, cultural missions, books and newspapers, the literacy campaign, and the
movies—which tend to make for the formation of a sentiment of *mexicanidad* or
Mexican nationalism is the school, where the younger generation learn about the
history, geography, and economy of the country as a whole, and where a conscious
effort is made to instill love of country.

THE SCHOOL

[648] The school became more effective after the early twenties when the schools of
the state of Morelos were federalized by means of a special agreement between the
state and the nation. This led to the standardization of texts and teaching methods.
But more important, the school personnel was recruited from various parts of
Mexico rather than, as formerly, only from the state of Morelos. Since that time,
[875] Tepoztlán has had teachers from Yucatán, Jalisco, Nuevo León, and many other
states. These teachers have different backgrounds and expose the children to the
customs and sentiments of their respective regions. Thus, in the programs organized
in the school, pupils have had the opportunity of seeing teachers dance the *jarabe*
tapatio, the *raspa veracruzana*, and the *jarana guariaca*.

Squadron 201, the new school building named after a squadron of Mexican
aviators who fought in the Philippines in World War II, stands as a symbol of
mexicanidad to Tepoztecs. The school was constructed with national funds
upon the direct order of President Avila Camacho in response to the request of a
Tepoztec who was a member of Squadron 201. Upon the return of the squadron
to Mexico, President Camacho organized a public reception and at this time
[729] invited each member to ask for what he desired. The majority of the men asked
for subsidies for their families, but Angel Bocanegra asked for a school for his
[554] village. Because of this he has become a great hero in the village, and among the
[186] younger generation has taken the place of the older regional and village heroes of
the Revolution.

The school not only stimulates Mexican nationalism, but is also a powerful
factor in developing the feeling of being a Morelense. The school teaches the
geography and economy of the state in some detail. The text on the geography of

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the state of Morelos is excellent and covers all the municipios of the state. Excursions organized by the school give the younger generation an opportunity to know their state. 619 872

The proximity of Cuernavaca, the state capital, also plays some part in developing a consciousness of being Morelenses. In Cuernavaca there are secondary and preparatory schools to which some Tepoztecan parents send their children, since the local school reaches only to the sixth grade. [873]

STUDENT SCHOLARSHIPS

Each year the secretary of education makes available a number of student scholarships for advanced study outside the village. About fifty Tepoztecan have received such scholarships during the past fifteen years, and many of these students have returned to the village to teach or to carry on their work as farmers. The experience away from home makes for many changes in habits and customs, and must be reckoned as another source of culture change, though obviously a limited one. 873 177

CULTURAL MISSIONS

Paralleling the work of the school is that of the cultural missions, also a federal service, which travel throughout the country visiting peasant and Indian communities and giving instruction for adults. Tepoztlán has had a cultural mission for two years, and in 1947 the mission worked in one of the surrounding villages of the municipio. All of the members of the mission were non-Tepoztecan, again making for increased opportunities to become familiar with customs from different parts of the country. The mission taught Tepoztecan how to make beds, chairs, and other furniture; it taught the girls knitting, sewing, and crocheting; it encouraged social dancing and sports such as volleyball; it taught the women how to make inexpensive candies and preserves; it worked on improving the homes by getting a few families to build privies and to raise the hearth off the floor for more sanitary cooking. In addition, there was a doctor attached to the mission who administered inoculations and gave advice on baby care. 177 658 [744]

BOOKS AND NEWSPAPERS

Most of the books which reach Tepoztlán are textbooks used in the school. One of the innovations of the Mexican government since the Revolution has been the elimination of most texts written by foreigners, and the substitution of those written by Mexicans, which seek to arouse Mexican nationalism. Stories of the Mexican Indians have been substituted for those of children of other lands, and national heroes receive an important place in most texts dealing with history. The secretary of education has printed millions of copies of history texts which are distributed free, and some of these books have reached Tepoztecan homes. 872 [619]

Among other publications which occasionally reach Tepoztlán are leaflets put out by the Partido Revolucionario Mexicano (now the Partido Revolucionario 538 208

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476 of a more cooperative society like the Zuni Indians where, for example, three
594 women of a single household grind corn in unison.

Much of the men's work is also done on an individual basis. It is common to see men working alone in the fields and returning alone in the evening. Similarly, a man will go alone to cut wood, burn charcoal, or transport goods to distant villages. The care of cattle by young men and boys is also frequently done by a single individual, although brothers or cousins sometimes go together. On cattle buying trips to Guerrero, two or three men will go together for mutual protection but each carries on his own business.

[484] On a number of occasions during the year the entire family may work together on a single project. This occurs sometimes during the corn harvest, but more frequently in picking plums during September and October. The shelling of large quantities of corn for sale also may be done by the whole family. This occurs more often in the smaller outlying barrios where the women are less reluctant to do men's work. Finally, the barrio fiesta generally requires a great deal of cooperative endeavor within the family.

462 The daily division of labor within the household reveals how the family functions
512 as an economic unit. We present in Chart 1 a synchronic record of the activities
594 of each member of a family which we observed for this purpose over a period of
123 four days. This family is a member of the upper economic group and owns several
872 plots of land and some cattle. The parents are in their early fifties and the age of the three daughters ranges from thirteen to twenty-four. Another daughter and a son are away at boarding schools and contribute little to the family in the form of labor. The record was made from March 28 to March 31, 1944, during the dry season when the father had little work in the fields. In addition, the father was slightly ill with chills and fever during part of the recorded period. This was not a disadvantage since it served to keep him at home where his activities could be more readily observed. The picking of *guasjes* (acacia pods) fortunately began during this period and gave us an opportunity to record in detail how that work is carried on.

The following record, though covering only four days, shows in detail how the general work patterns operate during this season of the year. The father is at home and does many chores normally done by his wife. His illness does not prevent him from working; in Tepoztlán a man remains in bed only when seriously ill. However, he rests a good deal and reads, which is something the father in our observed family rarely does.

[757] The mother is generally the first to rise and make the fire. She serves the meals, "cures" her husband, visits her mother, and is the only one of the women in the family to take an afternoon nap with more or less regularity. The item "Visits woman," which appears among her activities on Thursday, was listed because she had learned that this woman would visit the boarding school where the absent daughter was studying, and the mother wished to send her daughter a package by this woman.

[text continues on p. 72]

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857 near by, carry a small can of water or corn dough, or chase the chickens from the
868 garden.

At the age of six, many children are sent alone to the corn mill or to the plaza to buy small articles. At seven, they may be required to take care of a younger brother or sister after school hours. Some differentiation between sexes in connection with work begins at about age six, when boys protest doing a girl's work and mothers tend to avoid assigning such tasks. But most small boys continue to do tasks for their mother at home for several years and are expected to obey her orders. At about age six, boys occasionally accompany their fathers to the fields. They look forward to this, and the first trip is an important occasion in their lives. Small boys

[241] are not expected to work in the fields but may help in weeding, watching the animals and tools, gathering wood for the fire, and in running errands. From about

[264] eight years of age, many boys regularly carry the noon meal to their father in the fields and are required to help with the weeding and cultivation.

As boys get older, their principal work is to pasture the animals and to guard them from being lost or stolen. This work is usually done alone but sometimes two brothers or cousins of about the same age go together. The boys are required to rise early, take the animals to pasture before school, and bring them home after

[872] school. Boys are frequently kept out of school to watch the animals or do some other work. From about ten years of age, boys join their fathers and brothers in the

[241] field daily to learn the work of a farmer. By the time a boy is fifteen he generally can drive a plow and go through all the necessary steps in planting and harvesting. Most boys enjoy this work and are eager to become farmers. At home, boys of fifteen or so usually haul water, water the plants, take care of large animals, provide firewood, pick fruit, and help shell corn.

Girls generally begin to help their mothers in a serious way at about age seven by taking care of younger children, sweeping, washing dishes, picking up the *petates*, putting away things, and feeding the chickens. Most girls are eager to learn to

[252] cook, grind corn, and make tortillas; they begin to learn at age five or six by imitating their mothers. By the time a girl is nine she is generally quite skillful at these

[296] tasks and can also cook beans, rice, and prepare coffee. At ten years of age, most girls are expected to wash and mend their own clothes and those of the baby of the family. A girl of thirteen frequently can do all the work of a woman except wash

[294] and iron large articles and cook more complicated dishes; this she begins to do at fifteen. Few girls are able to cut out and sew clothing before marriage, although it is one of the necessary skills.

BY SEASON

221 The seasonal division of labor follows quite closely the succession of wet and dry seasons. In plow culture, the agricultural cycle begins with the coming of the first rains, generally in May. In hoe culture, the preparation of the land begins in the dry season between January and February. In September and October the plum harvest engages most families, and then in December the corn harvest begins.

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463 The increase in the number of butchers (Fig. 18) parallels the greater consump-
 [262] tion of meat in the village. An analysis of the municipio records indicates that the
 [443] consumption of meat from 1931 to 1941 rose more than 130 per cent while the
 population increase was approximately 30 per cent. There are four meat stores, but
 meat is also sold in the open marketplace. There are no refrigeration facilities;
 the meat is hung on a line in the open air.

[875] The number of teachers given in Table 19 refers to those Tepoztecan who are
 employed as teachers either in Tepoztlán or in other villages. Those now teaching

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Fig. 17. A local bakery.

[875] in Tepoztlán number fourteen in contrast with two teachers in 1926. There are now
 [872] two schools, one in the center and the other in the barrio of Los Reyes.^a The regis-
 tration in the former at the present time is 611 and in the latter 61. Thus, from the
 "few score" children reported by Redfield in 1926 there is now a total registration
 of 672.^b

463 Two other items in Table 19 deserve comment: the increase in barbers from
 305 five to fifteen and in corn merchants from two to thirteen. The former is another
 [442] index of acculturation. Most men now visit the barber on an average of once a
 [511] month. In the family budgets we have studied, the cost of haircuts for the male
 members of the household amounts to a sizeable sum during the year. There are
 three barber shops in the center, with modern barber chairs and equipment, and
 one each in the outlying barrios of San Sebastián and Los Reyes. The equipment

^a The school in Los Reyes was built in 1931 through the initiative of the inhabitants of the small
 barrios.

^b The average monthly attendance was 430.

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291 of acculturation of the family, barrio residence, and, to a greater degree than among
855 adults, upon the family's economic status. Other factors affecting children's dress
are school attendance and favoritism at home.

291 The younger a child is, the less effort and money is expended on his clothing and
855 the less significance his clothing has in revealing economic status. In most families,
858 pre-school children are not as well dressed as children who go to school. The only
exception to this is the young favorite child of a better-to-do family. A favorite son
may be given a little *gabán* as early as three years of age, but most boys do not re-
ceive *gabanes* until they begin to go out into the fields. A favorite girl may be given
a little *rebozo* as soon as she asks for one, but generally girls receive a *rebozo* at
about eight or nine. In very poor families a girl might not be given a *rebozo* until
eleven or thereabouts. A favorite girl may receive a pair of gold earrings or a pair
of holiday shoes at the age of two or three. Most girls do not receive these before
they are fifteen; boys are given huaraches when they begin to work in the fields.
Sweaters are worn by children of better-to-do families only.

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291 Parents tend to keep their school children's clothing cleaner and in better repair.
855 Many also make some attempt to keep children dressed in the prevailing styles for
their age group. This usually means shorter, better-fitting dresses for the girls,
jackets and ready-made pants for boys. (See Fig. 47.) There is also a definite trend
among families with enough means to buy children's shoes for special events and
school fiestas. The school now places some pressure upon parents to provide shoes
for their children by forbidding the latter to join public school parades if they are
barefoot. Differences in the clothing of the children of the rich and poor and of the
more conservative and acculturated are becoming more marked and school children
are becoming aware of the social distinctions involved. Their responses to the
thematic apperception cards show school children to be particularly sensitive to
clothing and to make appearance a significant aspect of their stories.

291 The quantity of clothing owned varies considerably from individual to individual.
511 Even within the same family there is some variation. In general, youths and adoles-
cent girls have the most and finest clothing, and the very young and very old have
the least. In the poorest families each member may have only one dress or suit of
clothing, but this is not common in Tepoztlán. Most women have at least two cot-
ton dresses for daily wear and one rayon dress for fiestas; most men own at least
four shirts, four *calzones*, and one or two pairs of huaraches. The children of the
poor tend to have less than this minimum and frequently do not have special
clothing for fiestas. In contrast, the middle and upper economic groups have many
clothes, and among a few families there is evidence of extravagance in dress.

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DIVERSION

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Fiestas, both religious and secular, continue to be the main source of diversion
for all groups in Tepoztlán. Every year the church calendar provides at least sixty-
two important fiestas for Tepoztecos to celebrate, either as participants or ob-
servers. Not a month passes without a fiesta, and in some months there are five.

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796 No one attends all fiestas, but all attend some. Widows and older women are
 589 known to be *muy fiesters* and habitually attend as many fiestas as possible. The
 887 very poor tend to participate in the fiestas of other barrios and other villages,
 735 whereas the well-to-do are more careful to attend the religious services held in the
 556 central church. Children especially like to attend fiestas and beg to accompany their
 872 mothers or aunts. The sharp drop in school attendance during certain fiesta times
 484 is a chronic complaint of the school. Tepoztecos also frequent the fairs of Chalma,
 430 Jiutepec, Tepalzingo, Tlayacapan, and Mazatepec. Some go to buy or sell, but
 others go purely for diversion.

The establishment and increasing popularity of many national and patriotic
 holidays are making for a new type of diversion in the village. These occasions
 differ from the traditional fiestas, in that they are organized by the school staff and
 527 are carried out by the children. They consist of plays, dances, recitations, speeches,
 872 in explanation of the holidays, and singing of national songs. Parades of school
 children are also becoming familiar events during the year. These celebrations are
 541 liked and well attended, and are becoming more and more a significant part of
 local life. Other contributions of the school to local entertainment are occasional
 dances and *hermeses*, at which food and drinks are sold and games played to raise
 money for various school needs. These activities are enjoyed by the young people,
 but attendance is generally small because of the resistance of the older generation to
 535 modern ballroom dancing; they look upon it as immoral, even when supervised.
 The school organizes occasional excursions for the children, but since these involve
 626 some expense many parents do not permit their children to participate. A literary
 536 and dramatic group was once organized in the school, but it was short lived because
 of local criticism and gossip.

517 Perhaps the next most common form of diversion is to go to Cuernavaca on one
 484 pretext or other. On Sundays, groups of young men take the bus to Cuernavaca
 where they spend the day walking about, playing pool, drinking in the *cantinas*,
 837 and visiting with prostitutes. Other men go to Cuernavaca for secret rendezvous
 with widows or married women from Tepoztlán. Women and girls go to Cuerna-
 439 vaca to buy or sell things at the market and to look at the store windows. A few of
 the more cityfied girls go to Cuernavaca to attend the movies and to buy the latest
 fashion magazines. Although it is impossible to estimate the effect of the pressure
 of this small but sophisticated tourist center on Tepoztlán, it is certain that it plays
 a strong role in providing a source of diversion and temporary personal freedom.

517 Sports as a form of popular diversion are limited. The traditional cockfights are
 526 all but gone and the *jaripero* (rustic rodeo), although still liked, is declining because
 541 of the lack of skill and interest on the part of young men. Hunting is seldom in-
 224 dulgenced in as a sport, and even less so as a source of food supply. Those who are
 535 hard pressed to earn a living find it more profitable to spend the slack seasons work-
 ing as peons for others. Singing and serenading at night is still popular among
 young men and is a source of pleasure for most villagers.

526 Organized sports or games were first introduced in Tepoztlán in 1922 as a con-
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sequence of a national campaign by the Minister of Education. Baseball, soccer, basketball, and volleyball were taught by the school and had immediate appeal among the youth. From the first, soccer was most popular. In 1929 a sports club of 22 soccer players, all from the three center barrios, was organized. The popularity of the game developed slowly until 1930, when the number of enthusiasts increased sharply because of the efforts of a new school director. Between 1934 and 1936, at the time that the road was being built, there were as many as 15 soccer teams. Even the religious barrio of Santa Cruz had its team. This enthusiasm lasted for about three years. In 1939 no soccer team existed and the interest in the sport lapsed for a few years.

There are now five teams, four in the large, center barrios and one in the small barrio of Los Reyes. The teams play against each other with the traditional barrio spirit of competition. They also play against teams from Cuernavaca and other nearby towns. There is no athletic field in the village, and the center teams play in the large yard of the Cathedral while the Los Reyes team rents a field. The scarcity of level land makes it impossible to use any of the communal land, and the young men are thinking of buying a plot of land for an athletic field. The only equipment bought by the team is the ball. About half of the players own special soccer shoes, the other half play barefoot or in huaraches.¹⁴

The teams usually play to an audience of small boys. Adults are disinterested in games or actively disapprove of them, and parents do not permit their daughters to attend. When teams from other villages play, only a few girls from the center barrios come to watch. The skill and triumphs of the players are appreciated by a handful of people; there are no fans and there is no community spirit in connection with this sport.

In 1947, when a Cultural Mission was in Tepoztlán, there was an attempt made to stimulate wider interest in games by organizing an inter village competition and appointing committees of *madrinas* or godmothers for each team. The *madrinas* came dressed in white and bearing flowers for each team, but the audience remained as small as ever.

The advantages of the cooperative action involved in team playing, and the unifying effect of a strong common interest, are experienced only by the actual members of the teams. Small as this group is, their experience in cooperation is of some significance in so highly individualistic a village as Tepoztlán.

Recreational activities in Tepoztlán were further diversified with the opening of a billiard room in 1935. This was another point of conflict between the older people and the younger men of the village. The poolroom was quickly characterized as a breeding place of drunkenness and bad habits. But despite their objections, pool became popular among the boys of all the barrios. When boys began to stay out of school to play, parents forced the local administration to ban poolrooms from admitting boys under eighteen years of age. There are now two poolrooms, one with

¹⁴ A professional soccer player from Mexico City admired the skill of young Tepoztláners in kicking the hard ball with their bare toes.

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castillo, in the shape of a bull, is most often used. Entertainment may also be supplied by a *jiripeo*, which is a type of rodeo devoted to a display of roping and mounting bulls. Music may be supplied by a band of hired musicians, and some fiestas include groups of religious dancers. Finally, all in the barrio, except the poorest families, prepare a meal of *mole* and other festal dishes and entertain visitors from other barrios or villages. Those who participate in a fiesta, dress in their best clothing, often purchasing new clothing for this annual occasion.

Barrio fiestas and some village-wide fiestas are supported by popular subscriptions which are more in the nature of voluntary taxes. The *mayordomo* of each fiesta collects the money in a ceremony called the *Morotlalayan y Cerapah* at the place where the money for candles for the church is paid. A similar payment is made for the *castillo*, either at the same time or, in some cases, in a separate ceremony called the *castillopah*. This ceremony is usually held one day after the fiesta so as to collect the *limosna* a year in advance. The amount paid is generally fifty centavos, or one peso, according to how much had been promised to the *santo* the year before. The people, who had been reminded earlier of the coming payment by the *huchuechique* or *limosnero*, convene at the *mayordomo's* house to leave their money. Upon payment, each receives a portion or two, according to the amount contributed, of *mole verde*, tamales, and a drink called *tepache*.⁸ Contributions are carefully recorded and there have been few cases of misuse of these funds.

The calendar of religious fiestas is a typical Catholic calendar which includes moveable and fixed fiesta days. The dates upon which many of the fiestas fall are calculated from the key date, Ash Wednesday.⁹

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND BELIEFS

Just as the cycle of religious fiestas in Tepoztlán follows Catholic practice, with some local modifications, so does the individual Tepoztecan. Only a few persons, mostly women, in the village fulfill all the ritual and other obligations set by the priest and church. These people are looked upon by the rest as fanatics who are "always dressing the saints." The priest does not consider his flock to be "good Catholics." The older people maintain a respectful passivity toward most church activities, while the adult males and many older youths, although not irreligious, tend to scoff at the nuns, the Acción Católica and other "fanatics." Among these recalcitrants there is much more interest in the barrio fiestas and one or two of the nearby village fiestas than in the regular daily and weekly religious acts which are required of them. On the other hand, the nuns and the religious associations tend to emphasize the latter. The school, too, so far unsuccessfully, discourages attending fiestas because of the disastrous effects upon school attendance. Regular participation in church ritual is associated with becoming "more cultured." Those who go to boarding schools or who have occasion to live in Mexico City for some time

⁸ This ceremony has been described in detail by Redfield, *Tepostlán*, pp. 99-100.

⁹ See Appendix D, "Fiesta Calendar of Tepoztlán," p. 458. For a more detailed description of the fiestas, see Redfield's chapter, "A Tepoztecan Book of Days," in *Tepostlán*, pp. 83-132.

the quality of inter-personal relations: 12

TEPOZTECANS are not an easy people to get to know; they are not an outgoing or expressive people. Most inter-personal relations are characterized by reserve, constriction; and carefully guarded behavior. Spontaneous or informal behavior is limited to the most intimate relationships and rarely occurs in public. Tepoztecan do not like to attract attention by word or deed, and self-control is learned early. In the presence of adults, children are expected to be unobtrusive.¹ In large public gatherings of adults and children, there is a minimum of noise. A family whose quarrels or boisterousness can be heard by passers-by soon earns a poor reputation.

In the street, most faces are somber and quiet; smiles, brief and appropriate; hearty laughter, rare. Women and girls are expected to walk with eyes downcast and those who smile freely may be suspected of being flippant and flirtatious. Adolescent girls, in particular, must have good facial control, for even a glance of interest may be taken as a sign of encouragement by some hopeful male. To smile unnecessarily at other people's infants is to be suspected of the evil eye, and most children do not learn to smile at strangers or visitors until they attend school.

Correct behavior is important at all times, at home, with friends, with relatives, and in public. Only in the case of old people and men who are drunk are deviations from customary reserve tolerated. Nevertheless, men recovering from drunkenness are apt to worry over having committed some improper act, such as behaving disrespectfully to a *compadre*. For this reason, men are careful about choosing drinking companions; individuals in a respect-relation, such as father and son, uncle and nephew, and *compadres*, must never drink together.

There are no fiestas in Tepoztlán which are openly bacchanalian in character, or in which women as well as men become drunk and promiscuous as in some other parts of Mexico. Even at the Carnival, when Tepoztecan behave with relative freedom, the leading participants are disguised in masks and costumes, and whatever love-making takes place is done secretly.

¹ Only during the recreation hour in school do children make a great deal of noise and play wildly. The play pattern in school is in sharp contrast with that at home and is clearly out of keeping with the older culture pattern.

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531 The quality of construction is also reflected in artistic expression and creativeness, both of which are limited. There are practically no handicrafts, no pottery, no weaving, no basketmaking. Although sewing, knitting, crocheting, and embroidery are becoming more widespread as a result of the influence of the cultural missions, the patterns used are purchased in Cuernavaca stores or copied from style magazines, and this work can hardly be called creative.

535 Music and the dance are very poorly developed. There are no traditional dances for men and women. The only traditional step used is the *brinco*, literally "the jump," which is a short jumping or skipping step done repeatedly without variation, to the accompaniment of a simple and monotonous melody played over and over. Only men are permitted to dance this step, and they do so singly or arm in arm with others, around the plaza in a large circle.

535 Modern social dancing has been learned by some of the more acculturated young people, and dances are held about once a week in the plaza under the uncertain light of a Coleman gasoline lamp. Social dancing has not become popular; most parents still refuse to permit their daughters to attend these dances, and boys have difficulty finding partners. By and large, the dancing lacks skill and grace and the dances seem dreary affairs. The school teaches a few traditional dances from other parts of Mexico, and these are occasionally performed in public by the school children. Most children, however, do not participate or have occasion to use these dances later. In short, the dance is not an important part of Tepoztecan life.

533 Musical expression consists primarily of singing typical regional songs to the accompaniment of the guitar. The local manner of singing is characterized by loudness and shouting, with little variation of style. These songs are sung exclusively by unmarried youths. Groups of boys or girls may serenade a friend or relative at dawn with the *mañanita*, or birthday songs, which are popular throughout Mexico. Perhaps the best singing occurs in the church where a selected choir of women and children sing under the direction of the *cantor*. New types of songs are being introduced by the school but are sung only by children; popular songs of the city, heard on the radio, are sung by girls in the privacy of their homes.

872 There are a number of bands of musicians who perform at local fiestas, dances, and at the more elegant weddings, baptisms, and funerals. These bands have a broader repertory than the singers, and play well-known music of Mexico and other nations. In musical skill, however, they compare unfavorably with the village guitar players and with musicians in other parts of Mexico and Latin America.

538 There is very little storytelling, and unlike villages in Spain, there is no rich lore of proverbs or sayings. Also, mothers generally do not sing to their children.

291 The clothing of the villagers is somewhat drab. The bright colors found in some parts of Mexico—the red skirts of Cherán, the red seed necklaces of the Tarascan women, the flamboyant serapes and *rebosas* of the south, the colorful pottery of Puebla and Oaxaca—are missing in Tepoztlán. Bright colors, particularly in clothing, are not in accord with Tepoztecan ideas of propriety, and only young girls are now beginning to wear them. Older women wear dull colored dresses,

The Quality of Inter-Personal Relations / 291

from his father. A man who fathers children with many women is placed under no social pressure to support his offspring or to marry the mother of any of them. Even in the case of a daughter's elopement, an act made worse by its rebellious flouting of parental authority, forgiveness is usually forthcoming after a lapse of time.

Sexuality is discouraged from childhood on; sex is a taboo subject within the home. Infant sexuality, masturbation, and sexual play among children, as well as curiosity concerning the bodily functions, is forbidden and punished. It is one of the more important obligations of the parent to keep their children "innocent," or, as they say, "to keep their eyes from being opened." The separation of the sexes for work and play begins from about age seven to ten and is strictly enforced at puberty. Coeducation in the school violated this basic attitude and was bitterly opposed by parents. Girls are unprepared for menstruation, which comes as a shock to most of them; girls will rarely confide in their mothers about menstruation or other intimate subjects.

In most inter-personal situations, Tepoztecs learn to express affection in a demonstrative fashion and generally avoid bodily contact. Perhaps the major exception to this occurs in the mother-child relationship during the nursing period, when the child is held, fondled, and sometimes kissed. In courtship there is an increasing amount of demonstrativeness and physical contact, but kissing is still not customary.

Tepoztecs learned the Spanish custom of kissing the hand of the priest and of parents and godparents, but it never came easily to them and is now disappearing. The shaking of hands in greeting and departure and the typical Mexican double embrace are not generally practised in Tepoztlán and occur only among politicians and some of the more citified families. When Tepoztecs are drunk, this restraint is frequently relaxed, and male companions will walk arm in arm, and men may hug and even kiss their children and wives in the privacy of their homes.

It must be apparent from the preceding pages that Tepoztecs are not, on the whole, a very affectionate people and that means of expressing affection are limited. Normally, the Tepoztec shows his affection for his children by hard work, good habits, and by providing them with the necessities of life; the child expresses his affection for his parents by obedience, respect, and diligence. Other inter-personal relations reveal good will or affection in so far as they fulfill the required reciprocal behavior. If these formal or practical qualities exist between people, Tepoztecs consider that they have a satisfactory relation with each other, and little else is demanded.

Between parents and children there is now a noticeable tendency, particularly among the younger generation, to express affection and to seek it in terms of greater demonstration of personal interest in each other, in their wants and needs and general welfare over and above life's bare necessities. This interest may be expressed by greater giving of food, clothing, toys, sweets, gifts, and now, by a willingness to make sacrifices for an education. Tepoztecs, particularly men,

The People as Seen from Their Rorschach Tests / 307

the broader research program, and the testing was done on a family basis as part of the intensive family case studies. Twenty-one families, representative of the socioeconomic and barrio differences in Tepoztlán, were selected for the testing program, and each member of the selected families was given the Rorschach. 125

As part of the project, seven student assistants were assigned to live with seven of the selected families. The testing was begun in these seven families only after the field worker had established good rapport. In each case the assistant who lived with the family prepared the way for the testing. The tester was then invited to meet the family and spent some time with each in friendly visits. The parents were tested in the home, but most of the children were tested in the school.

There was relatively little resistance to the testing, partly because of the slow, indirect way in which each family was approached, and partly because of Tepoztecán passivity, particularly toward city people or those in positions of authority. Very few Tepoztecans asked questions about the test; they seemed content to accept the tester's statement that a series of ink-blot tests were to be looked at, and that they were to tell the tester what the ink-blot tests made them think of. In the few cases in which questions were asked, the ink-blot tests were explained as a test of the imagination.

The cooperation of the children was gained, first, by testing the parents and winning their confidence, and, second, by testing the children in descending order of age. It was also found effective to ask the mother to arrange the appointments, so that it was she who told the child when to take the test. Small gifts of toys and sweets also helped. Rapport was far better with the children tested at home in familiar surroundings and with family members near-by, than with those tested in the school.

Testing in the school had many disadvantages. The school in rural Mexico does not enjoy the same prestige as in the United States, and is often subjected to criticism and interference by conservative elements in the community. Our school testing program, which included a battery of psychological tests and collections of drawings and written themes, attracted a good deal of attention and gave the anti-school group a pretext for criticism. 872 578

In Tepoztlán it is assumed that when two people are alone together they are up to no good. Since it is necessary for the child and the tester to be alone during the administration of the Rorschach test, the removal of the children from the classroom, one by one, came in for particular protest. To make matters worse, a local *curandero* considered the doctor on our staff as a possible competitor and circulated pornographic pictures which he said were the pictures that our tester was showing to the children. When the tests were given in the home no such difficulties arose. 571 123

The children did not enjoy being the center of attention in the testing situation. They were shy, ill at ease, and unaccustomed to taking tests involving much talking, and they soon became weary with the effort of expressing themselves. There is a general feeling in the village that it is not good for a person to study or think too much, and the many questions were *molestia* (a bother). One mother objected to 828

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mother proudly displayed a pillowcase she had embroidered with the words, "Sleep, my love" for her eighteen-year-old son. But mothers experience some difficulty in controlling the eldest son, who frequently imitates his father in demanding much service from the women in the family and in ordering his younger siblings about. The eldest son is expected to take the place of the father upon the latter's death, and to support his widowed mother and orphaned brothers and sisters. When this occurs, there is sometimes an extended struggle between the mother and the son for authority as head of the family. Widows who inherited their husband's property are in a better position to maintain authority and are usually careful to hold on to the property until death, for fear of losing all control of their sons. Propertyless widows, whose sons work as peons to support the family, usually permit the sons to rule over their brothers and sisters and over their mothers as well. Quarrels between mothers and sons arising out of the question of authority and inheritance are not infrequent; many mothers voice apprehension as to the treatment they may expect from their sons in their old age. There are several instances in which married sons do nothing to help support an old widowed mother or even mistreat her. On the other hand, there are several cases in the village in which an adult son, married or unmarried, continues to live with the mother and to work for her, sometimes well into his thirties, before receiving a share of his inheritance.

Many widows do not remarry because "the children get angry." Grown children tend to resent sharing the mother with a stranger and fear that they will be displaced. Eldest sons are known to be especially angered or "jealous," because they will no longer be the male head of the family. One widow said her eighteen-year-old son threatened to beat her if she remarried. Some women express a sense of shame in taking another husband after their children are grown. The presence of grown children also act as a deterrent to widows having lovers.

The relations of mothers and daughters are usually very close. Not only does the mother teach the girl the household skills she knows, but they work side by side in the home until the daughter's marriage. The daughter gradually assumes the mother's role in the home and generally identifies with her. The mother's attitude toward her work, toward bearing children, and toward men and marriage becomes the girl's attitude. In homes in which the mother is dissatisfied or unhappy with her husband, the daughters are apt to take a negative attitude toward men and marriage.

With few exceptions, mothers press their daughters into service as early as possible and use them for all types of errands and chores; indeed, the way in which Tepoztecan households function makes it almost impossible for the mother to get along without help. The custom of having daughters work in the home is deeply ingrained in Tepoztlán, although less so than in the smaller surrounding villages. Many mothers resent the fact that the school takes away the girls for the major part of the day. Mothers frequently absent their daughters from school or withdraw them permanently as soon as the husband permits. Girls under the age of thirteen usually prefer to be in school and may resist the mother's attempt to keep them

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593 home. However, the majority of girls leave school after the third grade, or at eleven
 857 years of age. An occasional mother identifies with the daughter and expresses her
 own ambitions for schooling by allowing the girl to complete the elementary school
 course.

872 When a girl is at home, she is at the complete disposal of her mother. The mother
 594 is in a position to exploit the daughter and frequently does, especially the eldest
 581 daughter. Many girls marry to escape the hard work at home, and some of our case
 histories reveal the resentment daughters sometimes hold in retrospect toward their
 mothers. The following was told by a woman forty years of age:

My mother was a widow. When I was nine we went to Tacubaya because it was the
 time of the Revolution. My mother borrowed three pesos and made *atole* and *tacos* and
 sold them. She did well the first year. Then she made meals for 190 factory workers. I
 made tortillas when I wasn't going to school. I went to school for four years and each
 morning I got up at 5:00 A.M. and ground corn, and made coffee for my mother, brothers,
 and sister. I never ate breakfast before school for lack of time. I also made the tortillas
 for the family for lunch and supper. My mother hired three women and a boy to help
 her at her work, and she made a lot of money. After four years she took us back to
 Tepoztlán because she didn't want us to grow up perverse. Then my three older brothers
 became teamsters and left the house at 4:00 or 5:00 A.M. every day. I had to get up at
 1:00 A.M. to grind and make tortillas and *tacos* for them. After they left, I swept the
 patio and garden and fed the pigs and chickens. Then I made tortillas for my mother,
 grandmother, and sister. After breakfast I had to grind corn for the two or three pigs
 we always had and then again for the evening meal. I cut and sewed the clothes, washed
 and ironed, and did all the work of the house when I was fourteen. I also milked the
 cows. My mother was always a merchant. Since I was such a hard worker they began
 to ask for my hand but my mother and brothers did not want me to marry. I, poor thing,
 loved my mother and didn't understand how mean she was. She didn't love me because
 she made me work so hard when she had enough money to hire a maid. I took care of
 my mother, but when I was twenty I was fed up with it and eloped with my *novio*.

593 The mother is usually the daughter's chaperone when attending fiestas or when
 584 visiting. It is the mother's obligation to guard all grown daughters from having
 contact with boys. If she fails in this the mother will be subject to the father's anger.
 Many mothers complain that the necessity to "spy" on their daughters is a heavy
 burden. A mother who must leave her fifteen-year-old daughter at home with the
 little ones while she goes to the plaza is anxious over the possibility that the girl
 will speak to a boy in her absence. If the mother learns that her daughter has a
novio, it is common for her to beat the girl without the father's knowledge and
 to keep the matter a secret. Although most mothers are harsh in their treatment of
 [848] a daughter who becomes pregnant before marriage, they are less so than the
 fathers and tend to be more forgiving.

593 Respect relations between mother and daughter require an avoidance of intimate
 864 subjects. Mothers do not customarily prepare their daughters for menstruation or
 discuss the body or any aspect of sexual relations. And girls do not inform their

children of school age: 17

- 872 GOING TO SCHOOL is the next most important step in the life of a Tepoztecan child. The kindergarten, which was founded in 1935, accepted children between the ages of three and six until 1947, when the lowest admitting age was changed to four. (See Fig. 55.) But only a small percentage of children attended so early. (See Table 56.) Many parents do not approve of beginning school at an early age, for it will "heat the heads" of the little ones. Fear for the physical safety of the small child is another factor delaying enrollment. In one family a favorite, only son was kept at home until he was nine, so that he would be able to defend himself against the attacks of older children. In another, a boy of five was withdrawn from kindergarten because older children had been sticking him with cactus spines. The age of enrollment is decided by parents, despite the law for attendance at age six.

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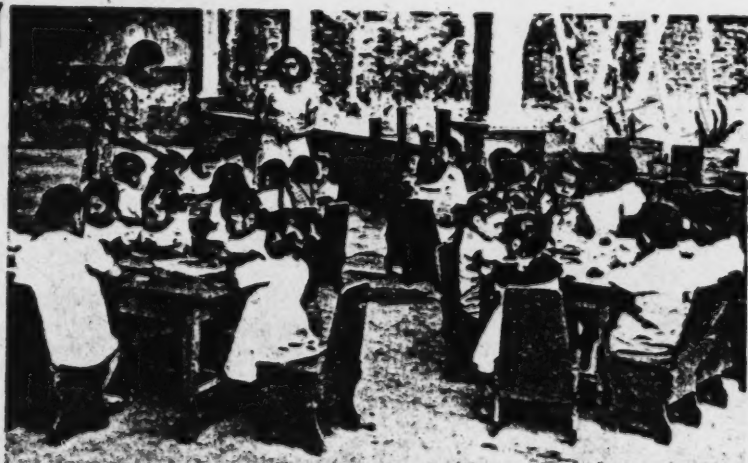


Fig. 55. The kindergarten.

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In any one year, school enrollment is highest in the first and second grades and successively lower in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth grades. As each class is promoted, the number of pupils declines. 871

For example, if we follow the class of 1941 from the second grade we find the following drop in enrollment:

Year	Grade	Enrollment		Total
		Boys	Girls	
1941	Second	82	57	139
1942	Third	53	26	79
1943	Fourth	—	—	—
1944	Fifth	31	19	50
1945	Sixth	21	14	35

Between the second and third grade, the drop in enrollment was over 40 per cent. Although the average decline is less than that, it is high enough to reflect the negative attitude of parents toward education. The ability to read and write on a simple level satisfies the standards of most mothers and fathers.

Despite this widespread attitude, total school enrollment has increased steadily. There has been an increase of more than 50 per cent in school attendance between 1941 and 1948. In 1941, approximately 49 per cent of the children between age six and fifteen were enrolled in school. A greater proportion of boys (56 per cent) of this age group than girls (41 per cent) went to school. In the other six years for which we have figures, the enrollment of girls is consistently less than boys in each age group.

According to the teaching staff of the central school (see Fig. 56), the most serious problem is attendance. Absence from school is extremely high during all the important fiestas and in the months of June and July, when there is a great deal of work in the fields. Truancy among boys in the third and fourth grades is also high. Only a minority of the parents feel obligated to give school priority over such activities as helping at home or in the field, and this minority is generally in the middle economic group. The wealthy, who own many animals, and the poor, who "have nothing," depend more upon their children's labor. The school staff is helpless in putting pressure on those parents who keep their children home from school, and must depend upon the local officials whose policy it is to do nothing to incur the anger of the voters unnecessarily. 872

Tardiness is also a serious problem since parents, in general, are not time conscious, and often keep a child at home until he has completed his chores. This situation has been met by ringing the church bell each morning and afternoon, and by arranging a competition for punctuality among the classes. [646]

In the kindergarten and first grade, the fearfulness and crying of the children are problems. Each year, at the beginning of the term, five to eight children cry chronically and must be sent home. The first-grade teacher observed that the children who had attended kindergarten before entering her class showed much 872 866

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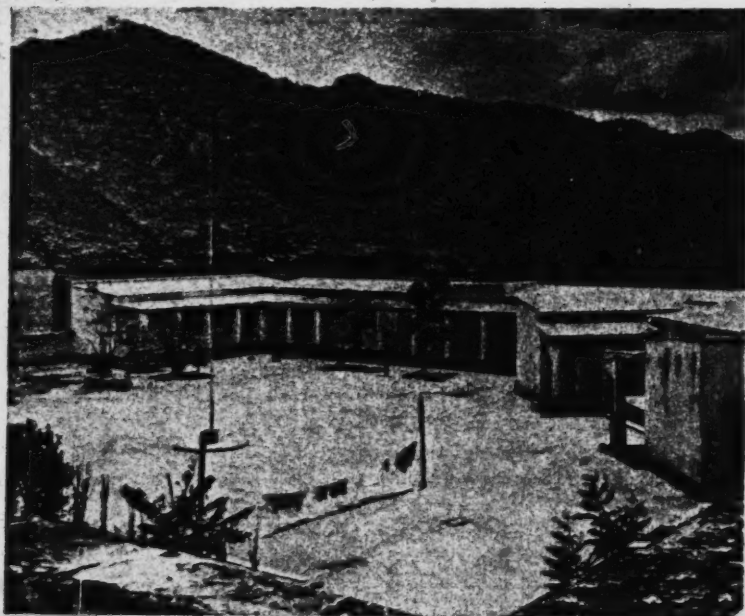


Fig. 56. The central school, seen from inside the patio.

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866 less fear of strangers than did older children entering the first grade without previous school experience. This attests to the importance of the socializing role of the school in Tepoztlán. Children in the two lowest groups, as well as in the second grade, are frequently too timid to ask to be taken to the toilet, with unfortunate results. In the second grade, for the most part, teachers note that the children are more self-confident and more mischievous. They still cry readily but for such reasons as not being able to do the work, being assigned to another group, or being sent to the blackboard.

In the third and fourth grades, teachers note that the children tend to be less respectful and more disobedient. But at the same time they seem to be more afraid of their parents than before and often, for fear of being scolded, fail to take home messages from school, asking for contributions, a new notebook, or a costume for a school function.

The pupils in the fifth and sixth grades are described as being the "most obedient and respectful and the most studious." These two grades usually have the best attendance records.

872 It is interesting to note that in the third and fourth grades, among the boys and girls of from nine to twelve years of age, there is voluntary segregation according

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to sex. In the lower grades boys and girls play freely together, and in the two upper grades there is much courtship. 872

The influence of the school has been profound; not only for those who attend classes but for the village as a whole. This is especially true in recent years. Although schools have existed in the village for about a century, they formerly affected only a small percentage of better-to-do families. It was the great expansion of education after the Revolution that made the school a more significant factor in local life. 177 872 [669]

For most Tepoztecan children, the school is not only a source of learning the usual academic skills but also of learning new ways of living. The children are taught to wash their hands before meals, to brush their teeth, to wear clean clothing, to use handkerchiefs, to cover up coughs and sneezes, and to be punctual. They acquire new knowledge of germs, vitamins, diet, dress, social participation, and cooperation. On a different level the school teaches respect and love for the mother, and children are encouraged to make or buy a gift on Mother's Day. Through Children's Day, for which the parents and teachers collect money to buy goodies and take the children into the fields for a picnic, consideration for the needs of children is engendered. The school also encourages the celebration of family birthdays, with felicitations and small gifts.

The extent to which these teachings are practiced in daily life is difficult to determine, but they appear to be minimal. This does not mean that they are rejected; on the contrary they are generally taken to be desirable and are supplying new standards and goals. So far as we can determine, new practices are not introduced at home because of the resistance of parents to spending money on such articles as toothpaste, toothbrushes, and handkerchiefs. Some mothers complain that their children, particularly the daughters, become too fussy about being clean and refuse to go out in even slightly soiled clothing.

There is a growing tendency for young married couples, who have become independent of their parents, to practice what they have learned at school as soon as they are financially able. The young people who have attended school outside the village are more immediately and permanently affected by the school experience. Sometimes the difference in way of life between the parents and son or daughter who has been educated outside is extreme, and is reminiscent of the contrast between immigrant parents and their children born and reared in a different land.

In Tepoztlán, however, the educated person who returns to the village and lives in poverty usually reverts to the old ways.

Going to school has a different significance for girls than for boys. Girls tend to associate going to school with freedom and pleasurable activity. Being away from home and the surveillance of the mother for six hours a day and having the opportunity to play with children of the same age, to form friendships with other girls, and to meet boys, are some of the advantages school offers to girls. (Fig. 57.) They tend to feel deprived at having to leave school, and many cry and express resentment when forced to do so. Boys, on the other hand, tend to associate school with 872

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Fig. 57. Going to school frees many girls from heavy chores.

confinement, and generally do not resist staying home from school to work. From the third grade on, many of them often play truant (*pistar venado*) to go swimming, to play games, or to go to a nearby town. Most boys look forward to the time when they will withdraw from school permanently to become farmers.

857 Most Tepoztecan mothers are accustomed to putting children to work as soon
872 as they are physically able, and to keep them at home, available to do tasks as they arise. The amount of work to be done at home by boys and girls of school age varies from family to family, and frequently depends upon the degree of control the mother has over her children. Parents traditionally punish young recalcitrants severely, so that by the time they are ready to assume regular tasks there is no question of obedience. Play has always been, and still is, viewed by most parents as a possible source of danger and a waste of time. Attendance at school has caused parents to modify their view of children as a source of labor and has disrupted the traditional division of labor within the home. It has thrown a heavier burden of [594] work on the mother, who depended upon her children for assistance, and on the father, who now must do some of the minor chores traditionally done by boys.

School has not only helped to reduce the amount of daily work done by children, but has postponed for many the age at which they work to contribute to their own support. Going to school has taken children out of the limited sphere of parental influence and has awakened new desires. One immediate and obvious effect of school has been the great increase in the desire of children to meet friends and to play after school. They are no longer always content to return home and remain

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within the patio walls, at the beck and call of their mother. In many families there is a constant tug of war between parents and children over how much time is to be given to play. Children are more difficult to control, and some parents find it necessary to withdraw their children from school or to punish them frequently. In the past, by the time a child reached nine or ten years of age he seldom required a beating; he had learned to obey. Today, obedience from a child of school age, particularly a boy, is maintained by the parents with continued application of "a strong hand."

In general, boys have more freedom to play than girls. But even when boys still too young to go to the fields with their father are not required to work at home, it is thought highly desirable for them to play at home with brothers and sisters. More "careful" parents try to keep their young sons off the streets, to protect them from learning "malice" from other boys, who are invariably described as "bad companions." But, as we have indicated, it is difficult for the mother to control sons, in the absence of the father. Boys from the age of six to ten frequently are seen playing in the street.

With few exceptions, girls are much more under the control of their mothers than boys are. Girls play in snatches between errands and chores, and as they grow older, less and less time for play is available. The burden of household work usually falls on the eldest daughter, although in most families all girls over ten are pressed into continual service. There is a particularly sharp, consistent drop in the enrollment of girls in school after the fourth grade, and approximately half of the school girls between ages ten and eleven are withdrawn from school to help with the younger children at home. (See Fig. 58.) Under special circumstances—such as the death of either parent, the birth of a new sibling, or the inability of the mother to take care of many school children or many grown sons unassisted—a girl may be permanently withdrawn from school before the age of ten. By the time a girl is twelve or thirteen she is considered too mature to attend school because of the possibility of involvements with boys, and she is generally kept at home. A very small percentage of girls attend school until the sixth grade. They are usually, though not necessarily, from middle-group or better-to-do families and often continue their schooling to become teachers or dressmakers. These girls are almost the only girls in the village who enjoy daily leisure and have some personal freedom.

Children of school age play a wide variety of games, some of which are learned and played at school, but most games are learned from older children. In the latter group are some games which have in all probability been played for hundreds of years, and others were taught in the schools before and just after the Revolution. Most of the games played in Tepoztlán are well known in other parts of Mexico and Latin America.

A comparison of some of the old and new games reveals significant contrasts and is suggestive of the type of influence being exerted by the school. The older games are characterized by quiet play, relatively little physical exertion, little or no

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Fig. 58. Child nurses.

177 physical skill or individual competition (except for marbles and tops), and loosely
 • 872 organized play groups. These games also reflect, to a striking degree, the customs,
 524 religion, and temperament of the people. Most of the older games involve running
 and tagging, singing, responding, and imitating adult life. Choosing between
 alternatives and receiving punishment in the form of work tasks are also common
 features.

In contrast, the games taught at school are those in which teamwork, competi-
 tion, scoring, definite goals, loyalty, leadership, sportsmanship, and physical exer-
 tion have an important place. This is especially true of games organized for boys
 and older girls. These games are popular among the young people and are played
 with enthusiasm.¹

159 The range of activities of boys and girls varies widely insofar as work, school,
 857 and play are concerned, and can best be appreciated by describing some cases. The
 872 following brief accounts of three boys and three girls represent both the extreme
 883 and the middle-of-the-road type. The extreme of more work than play, and almost
 no schooling, is perhaps the most widespread situation in Tepoztlán.

¹ See Appendix F, p. 491, for list of games most commonly played in school and at home by
 Tepoztlán children.

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ELEUTERIA V.: Eleuteria is sixteen years old and the oldest child in the family. Her mother is a widow who supports her children by teaching school. Eleuteria had to take care of five younger brothers and sisters from the time she was seven and one-half years of age. She attended school for one and one-half years until she was nine. During this time she helped her mother cook, sweep, carry water, and make tortillas. Before going to school in the morning she cleaned the house and on her return she took care of her sisters and brothers. She liked school but she was always tired, and when her mother suggested that she stay home all the time Eleuteria was glad to. She then did all the work of the house. She bathed and dressed the children, washed and ironed their clothing, and did all the cooking. At that time she was still young enough to be afraid to lift the hot *comal* off the fire. She also ground the corn and coffee. Eleuteria envied the girls in the neighborhood who could play, and sometimes she tied her youngest brother to her back with her *rehazo* in order to join their games. She did this in the greatest secrecy because if her mother had known, she would have been severely punished. Her mother often scolded or beat Eleuteria for not doing her work well or for letting anything happen to the smaller children. Eleuteria frequently scolded and hit her brothers and sisters to get them to obey her. When her younger sister was able to help at home, Eleuteria went to work at a corn mill for sixty centavos a day. She used this money to buy herself clothing and sometimes little toys or goodies for her younger brothers and sisters. She always cleaned the house before going to work in the morning and did the heavy washing and ironing at night.

FELICITA Z.: Felicita is fifteen years old. She lives with her mother, stepfather, three older brothers, and three younger half-brothers and sisters. Felicita was enrolled in school at the age of seven and attended irregularly until she was ten. Her mother kept her home at the slightest pretext, and Felicita learned very little. When she was ten, another child was born, and Felicita was withdrawn from school. Felicita cried when she was taken out of school, not because she liked to study but because she could no longer see her friends or play at school. She went about her work sullenly and took little interest in it. Everyone considered her lazy and bad tempered, and her younger brothers and sisters were afraid of her. Her mother complained that she had to shout and scold, or hit the girl, to get her to do her work. Once her mother threw a stone at Felicita and bruised her badly because she had played deaf when she was called. Felicita refused to go on errands for her grandmother or aunt who lived nearby unless they gave her five centavos in payment. When Felicita was ten she once expressed fear (to the investigator who knew her then) of becoming fifteen, because then she would have to do heavier work. Now at fifteen she still goes about her work unwillingly but is much less sullen and resentful. She takes more interest in her appearance and is happier because she has nicer clothes. Whenever her mother promises to buy something for her, she does her work with a will.

CARMEN G.: Carmen, age seventeen, is the youngest daughter in a well-to-do family. She lives with her parents and older brother. She has two older sisters, both of whom have had an advanced education and are now married. Carmen attended school from kindergarten to the sixth grade and was absent only when ill. She never did any work at home during this time because her older sisters helped her mother. Carmen had many friends and spent all her time playing with them, either at her home or theirs. At the age of twelve, Carmen was sent to Mexico City where she lived with her mother's sister and

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attended a secondary school. She studied dressmaking and learned to do fine work. After she had completed her course she began to earn a comparatively good salary and wanted to continue living in the city. But her parents did not think it proper for a single girl to live away from home and insisted that she return. Her two sisters had married, and her mother needed help. At sixteen, Carmen returned discontentedly because there was no market for her expensive work in the village. It soon became evident that Carmen was not going to be of much assistance at home. When she was asked to do any work in the kitchen she developed a backache or a headache and had to lie down. If she was sent to the plaza to buy anything, she returned with inferior articles for which she had paid too much. After a while one of the married sisters took over the family marketing, and Carmen now spends most of the day making dresses and blouses for herself or going for walks with some of her friends, all girls who have been educated outside of the village. She gives frequent parties and dances at home for her friends of both sexes and attends the public dances in the plaza. Her parents disapprove of her parties, but they permit her to have her own way. Most people in the village, except some of the younger ones, disapprove of her.

ALBINO R.: Albino is thirteen years old and is the youngest child. He lives with his parents and older brother. An older sister is married and lives away. His father works on a hacienda and comes home every eight days. His brother works as a laborer in Tepoztlán. The family is landless and poor. Neither Albino nor his brother and sister went to school for more than two years, and all are practically illiterate. His mother kept Albino and his sister at home to do errands. Albino, from the age of eight, had to take his brother's horse to and from the pasture. Albino was always at the beck and call of his mother, and if he wandered too far or played too much he received a sound beating. When he was ten the family acquired a burro, and the boy was withdrawn from school in order to guard the burro and the horse in the pasture. From age ten to thirteen, Albino did nothing but this work and ran errands for his mother. Since the family is landless, the boy never had an opportunity to learn to farm. When he is fifteen he will be hired out as a day laborer.

JUAN R.: Juan is fifteen and has lived with his widowed grandmother from the time he was weaned. His mother, stepfather, and married uncle live on the same *sitio*. Juan entered school at eight and attended irregularly until he was twelve years old. During this time he took his grandmother's cows to and from pasture and sometimes accompanied his uncle to the fields in order to learn to farm. He also carried water and helped his grandmother gather wood, though sometimes he was disobedient and refused to do anything. After school hours, he played in the street with his friends or joined a baseball or basketball game in the school yard. As he grew older he began to stand at street corners with older boys. He frequently stayed away from school to go swimming and did not come home until late. His teachers twice complained about his behavior in school. His grandmother was afraid "something bad would happen to him," and in order to make him more "serious" took him out of school and put him to work full time in the fields with his uncle. She attributed his behavior to the fact that he did not have a father to fear. Juan was sorry to leave his friends but was happy to go to work with his uncle and soon forgot about school. He worked hard and gave all his money to his grandmother. He occasionally went out with his friends in the evening but was usually tired

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and went to bed early. By the time he was fifteen, his grandmother had saved enough money for him to buy a burro. After that he became "very serious" and always brought her all the wood and water she needed and worked like a man in the fields. Juan is very contented and looks forward to the time he will receive the land which his grandmother has promised him as an inheritance.

Hermano F.: Higinio is fifteen and lives with his parents and five younger brothers and sisters. His father is a former schoolteacher, merchant, and bus driver. At present his father is an official of one of the local bus companies. Higinio had been sickly as a child, and it was early decided that he was better suited to the life of a student than to that of a farmer. He was enrolled in kindergarten at the age of five and, except for one year which he lost because of illness, he attended regularly until he completed the sixth grade. During the time he went to school his father did not permit him to play in the street or to have friends. If he was found playing marbles with other boys, as he frequently was, or if he delayed too long in running an errand, he was severely scolded or spanked by his father. Higinio was required to take care of his youngest brother after school hours. Higinio has never gone to the fields and knows nothing of taking care of animals or farming. Nor has he ever gone to the hills to gather firewood, and only occasionally is he asked to carry water. Higinio attended religious classes at the church for many years. He reads a good deal at home, and his parents have encouraged this by buying him a book from time to time. When Higinio was thirteen, he entered a secondary school in Cuernavaca since he could ride on the bus every day without charge. His parents hope to be able to have him educated to be a lawyer.

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adolescence, courtship, and marriage: 18

882 THE PERIOD between childhood and adulthood is relatively ill-defined in Tepostlán
192 and unmarked by special occasion or ceremony. In the recent past, this interim was
[881] brief or non-existent for girls. Until about age twelve, girls were called *niña* or *sis-
[589] igwa*, and from twelve to fourteen they were *señorita* or *ichpokame*. But because of
early marriage most girls passed directly from *niña* to *señora*. *Señoritas* who did not
marry soon were *solteras* or *ichpokath*. At the present time in Tepostlán, girls are
niñas until about age fifteen and are *señoritas* between about fifteen and twenty.

Though girls over twenty are still *señoritas* they are viewed as *solteras*. Both the
period of childhood and marriageability have been lengthened by several years. A
882 majority of the parents withdraw their daughters from school at about twelve, the
[582] age at which girls were married a generation ago. This practice extends the interim
period rather than childhood, because girls of twelve and over conduct themselves
more like *señoritas* than like *niñas*.

The situation was and is quite different for boys, who, unlike girls, were not
hurried into adulthood by early marriage. In the past, as well as now, boys are
called *muchachos* or *pilonite* from about age seven to seventeen or eighteen. There
[192] is no native term to differentiate any periods within this wide age range. After
seventeen or eighteen, boys are called *jóvenes*, *muchachos*, or *telpokath*. This period
[582] varies considerably in length, since there is no set or recommended age for marriage
for boys. Compared with girls, the change in age status of boys occurs later, more
gradually, and with less strain. Today the development of boys is even slower be-
cause the assumption of full-time adult work, which for many in the past took
place at about ten years of age, now generally occurs at fifteen. Childhood, or the
period of play and education, has thus been lengthened, and boys may go to school
[872] as late as fourteen years of age without incurring criticism.

ADOLESCENCE

883 The intermediate period between childhood and adulthood begins to have the
characteristics of adolescence, as we know it, and some of the better educated people
in Tepostlán now use this term. There are, however, several fundamental differ-

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Another group of influential figures decided to capitalize on this resentment, once aroused, to further their own political fortunes. Municipal elections were to be held in a few months. In addition to the mayor, who hoped to exploit public indignation over "immorality" to gain reelection, one of the two councilmen who headed the Education Committee was hoping to become mayor and promoted resentment for similar reasons. These two men became the spearhead of the attack on the project. 125
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The opposition of the school principal was related to the activities of the Education Committee. The principal, newly appointed to Tepoztlán, was being opposed at every turn by the Education Committee. This group charged the principal with being immoral and a Communist, because he allowed special dances to be given in the school for the purpose of raising funds. The Committee had opposed innovations in the school and was engaging in obstructive activities. Our presence provided further grounds for fighting the school. 872
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The eagerness of the principal in stopping the testing program without consulting us or investigating the charges could have been attributed to his fear of the Education Committee. However, he had ordered our workers out of the school before a single complaint had been made. One of the teachers told us that the principal, in an effort to ingratiate himself with the Education Committee and represent himself as a defender of morality, went to them with accusations against us, which they eagerly took up and carried further, since they had been looking for some grounds for attacking our project. Arranging the visit of the mothers to the school and the town hall was their way of carrying out plans to persuade the mayor to conduct an investigation and to arouse the village. [208]

The actions of the Education Committee were also tied to Antonio Lopez, the Synarchist organizer. He had succeeded, years before, in converting the two councilmen who headed the Education Committee. At one time these men had openly proclaimed themselves as Synarchists, but recently had ceased doing so although they still were intimates of Lopez. These men had branded our group "an imperialist mission," and their anti-U. S. sentiments provided further incentive for their opposition to us. 125
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